DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 282 244 CS 210 548

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TITLE Bifurcation: How the Wapato, Washington, "Independent" Covered Japanese in the Yakima Valley, 1920-1942.
PUB DATE 3 Aug 87
NOTE 45p.; Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication (70th, San Antonio, TX, August 1-4, 1987).
PUB TYPE Speeches/Conference Papers (150) -- Reports - Research/Technical (143) -- Historical Materials (060)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Content Analysis; *Japanese Americans; Media Research; *Newspapers; *News Reporting; Racial Attitudes; *Racial Bias; Racial Discrimination; United States History
IDENTIFIERS Land Claims; Washington (Yakima)

ABSTRACT

Press coverage of a sizeable Japanese population in the State of Washington has gone unexamined by mass media scholars. A study of the "Wapato Independent" between the time of the alien land laws in the early 1920s and Pearl Harbor shows that while the Japanese received routine coverage of their daily activities, hostile rhetoric by community elements, such as the American Legion and farm and business groups, went unchallenged by the editor. Every issue of the newspaper between January 1, 1920, through August 20, 1942, was examined, and the articles were coded into four categories of attitudes toward the Japanese: included in the community; excluded or hostile; Japanese to Japanese; and editorials. Four major patterns of coverage emerged: (1) nearly two-thirds of the prewar stories hostile to the Japanese or excluding them from white institutions were printed during the alien land law controversy, between 1920 and 1923; (2) 83 percent of the prewar racist editorials were printed during these years; (3) between the 1920s and Pearl Harbor, stories reflecting cooperative activities were more prevalent, outnumbering those reporting divisive action 84 to 77; and (4) in the 1930s, there was considerable neutral reporting of activities of the Japanese community not involving whites. These findings indicate that while the majority of the reporting was positive or at least neutral, anti-Japanese sentiment surfaced at times of economic difficulty. (SKC)

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Bifurcation: How the Wapato, Washington, Independent Covered Japanese in the Yakima Valley, 1920-1942

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August 3, 1987

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Abstract

Press coverage of a sizeable Japanese population in the State of Washington has gone unexamined by mass media scholars. This study of the Wapato Independent between the time of the alien land laws in the early 1920s and Pearl Harbor shows that while the Japanese received routine coverage of their daily activities, hostile rhetoric by community groups went unchallenged by the editor. While the majority of the reporting was positive or at least neutral, anti-Japanese sentiment surfaced at times of economic difficulty.

In Christ there is no East or West,
In Him no South or North;
But one great fellowship of love
Throughout the whole wide earth.[1]

Passersby could frequently hear the words of this hymn emanating from the frame Japanese Methodist Church on West Second Street in the small central Washington State farming community of Wapato.[2] But if there was no East or West within the oriental congregation, the one great fellowship of love did not always extend beyond the steep concrete steps of the church into this town on the broad floor of the Yakima River Valley.

Depression-spawned bombings of Japanese farms in 1933 revived sentiments which had laid dormant since enforcement of the state's alien land laws in the 1920s. Even before Pearl Harbor irrevocably ruptured Japanese-white social patterns, hostility toward the Japanese in the Wapato area was seen as the most virulent in the Pacific Northwest, no negligible consideration.[3] Nearly 700 Japanese in the Wapato area were affected by enforcement of the alien land laws; over 600 were there at the outbreak of World War II, two-thirds of the total Yakima County Japanese population.[4]

Although scholars have consulted Yakima Valley newspapers for accounts of Japanese-white social, economic, and political relations, the newspaper in this center of Japanese population has not

1

received primary attention.[5] In fact, few studies in mass communications have analyzed newspapers for their accounts of Japanese activities anywhere on the Pacific Coast in the two decades between adoption of the alien land laws and Pearl Harbor.[6] Gothberg has reported reaction to the California land ownership issue;[7] press accounts in the aftermath of Pearl Harbor have understandably received more attention.

This paper, therefore, quantitatively and qualitatively examines, by necessity, selective coverage of the Japanese and issues related to their status as reported by the weekly Wapato Independent from 1920, at the eve of Washington State alien land law legislation, through the Pearl Harbor crisis. The weekly Independent was chosen because of its immediate proximity to the Japanese population and the anticipated detail of coverage of personal and social items not available in the Yakima Daily Republic or Yakima Morning Herald published 12 miles away.

Data from the pages of the Independent will be discussed here as they pertain to three questions raised by earlier studies or by the Wapato Japanese-white relationships specifically:

1) The California study reported that newspapers in general reflected the prevailing attitude of most citizens toward Japanese.[8] Did the Independent, despite, or because of, its proximity to the Japanese, maintain this frequently observed journalistic adherence to public opinion?

2) Was hostility directed toward anything Japanese? Or was a distinction made between a) economic factors which threatened the livelihood of whites and b) Japanese social institutions (the churches, sports teams, and language school) which, while symbols of a separate culture, did not threaten white well-being? In other words, was there uniform racial animosity, or did it surface primarily during times of economic hardship?

Were the alien land law, bombings, and Pearl Harbor incidents well-remembered aberrations?[9]

3) Is there support for the contention that the Presidential evacuation order in 1942 was not initially supported by public and press opinion?[10] Was there previously unreported support for the Japanese, and did it withstand the initial shock of Pearl Harbor?

I. Methodology

Every issue of the Wapato Independent from the one of January 1, 1920, through August 20, 1942, was examined for references to the Japanese population or to policies directly affecting the Issei, the immigrants born in Japan, or the Nisei, the second generation population. These articles were coded into four primary categories:

--"Included in the community" reflected stories which reported Japanese participating in white institutions or whites interacting amicably with Japanese groups.

--"Excluded or hostile" reflected stories which reported activities purposely excluding Japanese or being overtly hostile to them.

--"Japanese-to-Japanese" stories reflected activities of Japanese within Japanese organizations without white interaction.

--"Editorials" categorized the editorials of the newspaper about Japanese, not including letters to the editor or columns.

Noted separately, but usually not included in the categories above, were articles about Japanese sports teams, personals in which individuals were identified by race or because of names; crime or accident stories in which Japanese were likewise identified, and births, marriages, and deaths.

II. Background

Little is recorded about the first Japanese settlers in the Yakima Valley. A Mr. and Mrs. Kimitaro Ishikawa from Kanagawa Prefecture left Seattle, crossed the Cascade mountain range, and arrived in the valley in 1891, during the period when only private irrigation systems served the area. Yakima Indians called their one million acre home between the Yakima River and the forested foothills of the Cascades below Mount Adams "beautiful land." But the Issei used the ideographs "burning horse" when they described the valley floor of sagebrush, sand, and jackrabbits.

The first group of Japanese to cultivate Yakima Valley land arrived in 1902 when twenty or thirty workers arrived from Hawaii.[12] Still, by the end of the decade, only 257 Japanese lived in Yakima County, and some of these undoubtedly were operating hotels and restaurants in North Yakima, the county seat.[13]

The number of immigrants was slowed after 1906 when Japan, in its "Gentlemen's Agreement," agreed to issue no passports to skilled or unskilled laborers for emigration to the United States.[14]

But federal development of irrigation in the valley irresistibly drew Japanese and white settlers alike. Four years following passage of the federal Reclamation Act on June 17, 1902, the government bought out the major private irrigation system and planned a series of reservoirs and canals on the Yakima River and its tributaries. The Wapato unit of the Yakima Indian Reservation project brought water to 53,000 acres within a decade, still less than half of the area planned for cultivation.[16]

In anticipation of this development, a North Yakima businessman, G. S. Rankin, and Alexander E. McCredy, the Indian post trader at the Simcoe station on the Northern Pacific Railway, cleared sagebrush and platted an 80-acre townsite on the Yakima Indian Reservation. On September 29, 1905, sixteen years after Washington attained statehood, the first lots went on sale in Wapato, the town name selected to avoid confusion with old Fort Simcoe, 30 miles to the west.[17]

Within a year, the Wapato Independent was booming the new town, but apparently not successfully enough. The paper failed, and ownership was transferred to the Wapato Development Company, owned by the town's founders. They persuaded the printing superintendent of the Yakima Morning Herald, William Verran, to take over the weekly on June 16, 1909, in the community of some 400 residents. This native of Merrimac, Michigan, who had worked on the Scranton, Pennsylvania Times and had been part-owner of Rossland, British Columbia, newspapers, with his son, William Verran, Jr., published the Independent until his death in 1938.[18]

A prominent Wapato Japanese resident remembered the newspaper as demonstrating "extreme hatred" for Japanese, at least until he started selling insurance among the Japanese for the Verrans, thereby getting to know the publisher and his son. After that, coverage became neutral, he recalled.[19]

While this study will investigate whether the Wapato Independent did indeed display hostility toward the Japanese, certainly other elements of the population did. White youths in 1907 attacked the barracks housing six Japanese trackmen on the Wapato project of the Northern Pacific Railway, demanding that the workmen leave. The Tobo Company of Seattle, which had contracted the labor for the rail projects, asked the Yakima

County Sheriff's office to protect the workers, and the firm itself sent guards to the valley.[20]

World War I precipitated more widespread hostility toward the Japanese, who were accused of taking advantage of opportunities made available when a considerable portion of the work force went into service.[21] Thus it was no coincidence that the first individual who agitated white farmers of the Yakima Indian Reservation against the Japanese in 1917 was a German minister, Hans Benz, himself a farmer. Apparently to divert anti-German sentiment against the Japanese, even though Japan was a U.S. ally, Benz organized a mass meeting of the farmers following his arrest on the East coast as an enemy alien. Participants suggested restricting leasing of reservation land to U.S. citizens, or to those who had declared their intention to become citizens. They knew Issei were prohibited from becoming citizens.[22]

Patriotic fervor of wartime merely provided new justification for expression of hostility toward the Japanese, such as had been seen in California with formation of the Japanese and Korean exclusion League in 1905, the 17 anti-Japanese acts introduced in the 1909 California legislature, the 1913 California alien land law, and the unsuccessful land laws in the Washington State legislature the same year.[23] This activity coincided with the economic depressions of 1907 and 1913-14, thus, when veterans of the World War came home, only to be confronted by the depression of 1920-21, the effect on the Japanese was predictable.[24] Passage of the alien land laws in the three Pacific Coast states in the early 1920s disrupted the lives of the Yakima Valley Japanese population only slightly less than the outbreak of World War II. But even if some

families were not dislocated by the legislation, all were subject to the racial rhetoric used to justify the legal acts. We shall examine the rhetoric of the Wapato Independent.

III. Discussion

Coverage by the Wapato Independent of the Yakima Valley Japanese or the legislation which affected them demonstrates four major patterns when viewed quantitatively (see Table 1):

--Nearly two-thirds of the stories hostile to the Japanese or excluding them from white institutions prior to Pearl Harbor were printed during the four-year period of the alien land law controversy, 1920-1923.

--Of the pre-war editorials, 83 per cent were printed during these four years.

--Just as articles of the early 1920s reflected community hostility toward the Japanese, those of the decade prior to Pear Harbor reflect considerable amicable interaction between the Japanese and white communities, despite the bombings reflected in the statistics for 1933. Thus for the 22-year pre-war period, stories reflecting cooperative activity outnumber those reporting divisive action, 84 to 77.

--The decade of the 1930s reflected considerable reporting by the Independent of activities within the Japanese community which did not involve whites. The Japanese population matured and developed more complex social institutions, and the newspaper was obviously willing to print news of their activities.

These patterns will be examined next in qualitative terms, with major attention devoted to the era of the alien land laws.

A. News Stories of the Early 1920s

Passage of an alien land law by California voters in November, 1920, galvanized American Legion members and farmers' and business organizations in Washington State.[25] Within a month, Wapato attorney Joseph C. Cheney called for passage of an initiative measure modeled on the California statute:

> ....we can never have a country in which there are many discordant, unassimable elements. The Anglo-Saxon and the Jap cannot mix. White and yellow skins will not blend into a veril [sic] nation. We Americans do not want to live with them or near them. We want nothing to do with them. They are alien to our customs, language, blood, standards of living, religion and national aspirations. The intermarriage of these two groups, the American and the Jap, is impossible. It will breed a hybrid, low mongrel race. It cannot be done. Yellow must stay yellow and white must stay white. . .
>
> The Jap must go, and the sooner the better for all the United States.
>
> Show your colors now. White or yellow, the petitions for the Alien Land Law are now in my office and there for signing. . . the slogan of the day is THE JAP MUST GO. Make your choice. Are you white or are you yellow?[26]

The lengthy signed statement, run among news columns on page 12, was the most strident outburst carried by the Independent in the 23 years under study here, including the post-Pearl Harbor period. It received no editorial page support, but a page-one story announced circulation of the initiative petitions in Wapato and detailed provisions of the proposed law.

The initiative Cheney supported never became law because adequate signatures were not obtained.[27] However, the provisions were similar to those passed by the 1921 Washington Legislature. Under the new law,

aliens could neither own land (already prohibited by the state constitution) nor hold any "interest therein," a term which included leases.[28]

Passage of the measure prompted confusion among Japanese lessees and lessors alike. Some lessors allowed Japanese to continue with white surrogates signing lease documents. Nisei children as U.S. citizens in some cases signed leases for the land their parents were working. Both of these practices were outlawed by further legislation passed by the 1923 Washington Legislature.[29]

The Yakima Indian Agency, although not subject to the 1921 state legislation, temporarily held up lease renewals.[30] But uncertainty prompted Cheney, as one of a delegation representing Yakima Valley American Legion posts, to meet in Washington, D.C., with Secretary of the Interior Albert R. Fall. By March of 1922, the secretary notified Yakima Valley Japanese in a telegram that leases on Indian land were to be granted only to white citizens, with veterans to receive preference.[31]

Undoubtedly Cheney's sense of urgency was heightened by reports that Japanese were purchasing land in the name of their children near Pasco on the Columbia River, some 80 miles south of Wapato.[32] But he also decided to turn his activity into political gain. He promoted himself in 1922 as the major patriotic (anti-Japanese) candidate in the race for the Republican nomination for the position of Yakima County prosecuting attorney. He lost by only 734 votes out of 8,400 votes cast, but in returns which provide insight into community sentiment, he carried all Wapato precincts by at least 2-1 margins.31

Cheney's campaign and the general enforcement of the alien land laws prompted the number of stories reflecting anti-Japanese activity in the Independent to double in 1922 over the previous year, but personal factors also contributed to the increase. William Verran, Jr., completed his studies in journalism at the University of Washington at the end of summer session in 1921. He became editor on September 22, assuming responsibility for news coverage as well as editorials.[34] With another staff member, the newspaper could report the meetings of the business and farm organizations in more depth. Of significance to coverage of the Japanese issues specifically was Verran's initiation into the two-year-old Wapato Legion post at the end of 1921; he was thus afforded an insider's vantage point from which to report activities of the post, which enthusiastically supported the Legion's goal of government action in alien and immigration policy.[35] The news report of Verran's initiation unintentionally confirmed the philosophy of the patriotic organization in racial matters; "Carl Ringer told a good coon story," the account said.[36]

B. Editorials of the 1920s

Initial editorial comment in the Independent about the Japanese was as bland as some news stories were strident. William Verran, Sr., in 1920, for example, printed only three editorials calling generally for restriction of immigration, and two of them were reprinted from the Christian Science Monitor and the "Times."[37] Even passage of the alien law in 1921 prompted no comment from the senior Verran and when the

legislature adjourned, his only observation was the noncommital, "The record of enactments is pleasing or displeasing. It depends entirely upon how you are affected."[38]

Opinion became more lively when William Verran Jr., became editor. When an outraged Cheney responded to anonymous charges during his campaign that he had actually been "aiding and abetting" the Japanese to secure lands in evasion of the alien land law, the younger Verran supported his fellow Legionnaire:

> The sort of propaganda which is being used against Joseph C. Cheney, candidate for prosecuting attorney, is most vicious and Cheney has a right to know its source. Mud is probably the oldest known form of political ammunition, but it often makes the thrower dirtier than the one to whom it is directed.[39]

An editorial supporting Cheney immediately before the primary election, however, made no mention of the racial implications of the race.[40]

Still, Independent editorials provide insight into how the Wapato white community viewed minorities:

> Indians as a class are sometimes more intelligent than they are given credit for. Their education has come through the school of experience and some of their knowledge they have paid dearly for. It is very probable that many Indians who signed the recent protest to the secretary of the interior did it in full knowledge of its contents.[41]

A Japanese spokesman soon received a similar backhanded compliment. Arthur Itow, secretary of the Yakima Valley Japanese Association, headquartered in Wapato, spoke to Wapato American Legion members, asking that Japanese leasing reservation land be allowed to remain because they held financial obligations of close to $250,000. Despite Itow's "eloquent plea," the Yakima district Legion commander urged the Wapato post to continue its effort to get rid of the Japanese, and to fight the

"disreputable white man, who for a few paltry dollars, allow [sic] the Japanese....to get a foothold here....[42] William Verran, Jr., was more charitable, if unmoved:

> ...Itow made an admirable attempt to gain the sympathy of the war veterans for his people, but he failed. His plea comes too late and to all appearances the Japanese must leave the reservation within a short time. He plans to have a conference with Secretary Fall if he comes to the Yakima Valley, but just what good will be accomplished is problematical.[43]

Editorial comment remained muted in 1923, even as the Legion aggressively fought alleged evasions of the lease law by the Japanese, the Washington Legislature tightened the alien land law, the Ku Klux Klan organized in Wapato, and the U.S. Supreme Court upheld federal citizenship and state land laws against the Japanese. Activity climaxed in March, shortly after the younger Verran, in an editorial style typically claiming to tap public opinion, observed,

> It is now a pretty well recognized fact that a majority sentiment in this community is in favor of having reservation lands leased and worked by Americans....If some sort of poll were taken to test the sentiment of the community, it would doubtless show the alien sympathizers to be in the minority....
>
> Evasions of [Secretary Fall's] ruling were numerous last year....Just how long these practices will continue is of course problematical, but it is evident to many persons here that they cannot continue much longer. Some sort of organized sentiment will make demands very soon, and those demands will have to be heeded. It's the writing on the wall.[44]

Alien sympathizers were certainly in the minority when, within days, the American Legion and the Ku Klux Klan became active. However, the Klan speaker, garbed in white robe, pointed cap, mask and red and purple bordered cape, standing before 500 townspeople, was apparently more

colorful than the events of the evening. No references to Japanese were reported, merely references to the history, organization, and philosophy of the contemporary Klan.[45]

As the Klan had spread across the nation in the early 1920s and specifically as the Klan Domain of the Pacific Coast covered the Pacific states in 1921, the Independent had shown no enthusiasm for its activities.[46] Less than two years before the Wapato meeting, the elder Verran observed that the nation had "plenty of laws to combat radicalism without turning to extra-legal organizations such as the Klan."[47] The younger Verran, just four months before the Klan came to Wapato, claimed the Klan and lynchings were not acceptable substitutes for unsatisfactory jury decisions.[48] But with a klavern established in town, the Independent had no editorial comment.

Racist rhetoric befitting a Klan rally came instead from the mass meeting the American Legion and business and farm groups held to demand enforcement of the 1921 alien land laws and the 1923 amendments the governor had signed two weeks earlier. It is impossible to determine Klan influence on this gathering; certainly the Legion post had sufficient state and national support to promote its own goals. Some 1,000 citizens turned out for the meeting, the largest in Wapato's history.[49]

Drawing representatives from throughout the Yakima Valley, the organizers won approval of a lengthy resolution, which was wired to Secretary of the Interior Hubert Work. In urging the new secretary to enforce the ruling of his predecessor regarding alien leases, the citizens said of the Japanese:

> These people can never become an integral part of the American race by assimilation because assimilation is impossible without intermarriage and intermarriage between American and Japanese is unthinkable.[50]

Cited as justification for the call for enforcement was the decision of the U.S. Supreme Court four months earlier in the Ozawa case holding that Japanese were not eligible for naturalization (unlike persons of white or African descent).[51]

A second U.S. Supreme Court decision near the end of 1923 invalidating a California contract between a white land owner and a Japanese who was deemed an employee set members of the Wapato Legion post "rejoicing," the Independent reported. The court held that the contract was, in effect, a lease of the land, which would be invalid under state law. William Verran, Jr., applauded the decision:

> ...If ineligible aliens are found on deeded reservation lands during the coming year, it is very likely that the owners of the land will have an opportunity to state to the prosecuting attorney just why they are there and if on leased land, the lessee will have a chance to explain to [Indian] Superintendent Estep.[53]

Not only lease laws but the ineligible aliens themselves became the focus of editorial page attention in 1924 as Congress considered a comprehensive immigration act. On the eve of the April 16 Senate vote to exclude Japanese as ineligible aliens, the Seattle Post-Intelligencer carried a signed editorial by William Randolph Hearst backing the exclusion. Hearst said the country did not need "the demoralizing competition of low Oriental labor conditions, poor standards of living, and contaminating Oriental morals...This is not race prejudice. It is race preservation."[54] Verran was no less adamant two days later in his view:

> ...there is no reason why the Japanese should be given preference over the Chinese or any other peoples in the matter of immigration. In a great many respects the Japanese is a more undesirable resident of this country

> than the Chinese. The coolie could never offer the economic competition which has been presented by the Japanese on the Pacific coast...[55]

Verran used many of the same words again in a similar editorial in June, and in mid-summer commended the Japanese government for dropping its dual citizenship law, "removing one great objection to the Japanese.[56]

It has been reported that the Supreme Court decisions, Interior Department rulings, the 1923 Washington legislative action, and citizen pressure for local enforcement, if not Congressional action, reduced the number of Japanese farms in the Yakima Valley from 140 in 1922 to 7 in 1924.[57] But this figure is suspect considering the renewed frenzy of enforcement activity in Wapato, this time by the Grange. Such steps would hardly have been necessary had only seven farms been left. Granges sponsored a mass meeting to stop subterfuge by which Japanese allegedly circumvented the state laws by being considered employees of their landlords, or by entering into secret gentlemen's agreements.[58] Some 300 citizens signed a petition to the U.S. Department of Indian Affairs and Washington Governor Roland H. Hartley, threatening

> that unless absolute enforcement is accorded henceforth without exception...the citizenry will feel compelled to take any and all justifiable measures necessary to exclude the Japanese farmers from farming the lands, as well as the whites who are copartners to these violations.[59]

Without citing what these "justifiable measures" might be, Verran editorially contended the turnout at the mass meeting demonstrated community support for rigid enforcement of the anti-alien land law.[60] Once more during 1925, Verran urged prosecutorial action against the Japanese, and then the subject was dropped from the editorial page.[61]

Only twice more in the 16 years prior to Pearl Harbor did Verran devote space under his page-two masthead to public policy regarding immigration and then without mentioning the Japanese.[62]

The 15 editorials of the Independent were couched in restrained language compared to the rhetoric of Wapato's mass meetings reported in the news columns, but the reader knew clearly that Verran shared the sentiments of the more radical community organizers. Considering events of the next decade affecting minorities in Wapato, his editorial silence in the 1930s is of equal significance.

C. The Bombings of 1933

Just as the anti-Japanese measures of the early 1920s were spawned in part by economic difficulties and justified by the admitted inability of whites to compete financially, the arson and bombings of Japanese farms in 1933 were clearly attributable effects to the Depression, exacerbated by continuing racial prejudice. All of the incidents were directed to farms where Filipinos were employed.

Verran initially attempted to minimize effects of the Depression, claiming Wapato residents did not know "just how pretty they are sitting." The community had escaped because of its diversified crop production and the large payroll in packing plants, he said. "1931 will be a great year for the man who bundles up all the bugaboos of 1930."[63]

But some of the bugaboos could not be avoided. Verran himself reported that crop values in 1930 on the 83,472-acre federal Wapato irrigation project had dropped 39 per cent to $4.1 million from the previous year.[64] In September of 1931, eight Japanese potato laborers were driven out of the fields by 49 white workers near the upper Yakima

Valley community of Ellensburg. "Many whites are out of work and it is offensive to see that Japanese are working," was the justification, reminiscent of the early 1920s.[65]

Resentment about the Japanese surfaced in Wapato, too, after voters in 1931 defeated a school district special levy and district directors ended transportation for students and free text books in the grade schools.[66] A letter to the editor of the Independent by the anonymous "Farmer John, A Taxpayer," said that if a second vote were approved,

> ...taxpayers will be forced to not only pay for transportation of their own children, but for the transportatation of the Japanese and other non-taxpayers, on top of the heavy load they are already carrying. Last spring the superintendent made the statement that it costs about $7500.00 a year to educate the Japanese...[67]

Crop statistics for 1931 illustrated what concerned taxpayers. Produce values fell another 40 percent during the year to $3.341 million, half of the 1929 crop value and the smallest in the history of the Wapato irrigation project. Reduced prices prompted a 15 per cent decrease in produce shipments; the Wapato railway agent reported that 4,018 carloads were loaded in the year ending June 30, 1932, compared to 4,755 the previous year.[69] Verran's editorial optimism of 1931 had vanished:

> It is regrettable that many old-time residents of the reservation are leaving this spring because farming has been so unprofitable in the last few years....Some of the farmers are leaving with a few dollars after selling their equipment and livestock, but most of them have less than when they came here.[70]

Some 200 of those farmers who decided to stay on the land formed the Yakima Reservation Renters and Landowners Association early in 1933, seeking a sliding scale of rentals and lower leasing fees to fluctuate with the rise and fall of produce prices. The farmers voted to ask the

U.S. Department of the Interior to prevent sub-leasing of reservation lands to both the Japanese and the Filipinos; speakers protested that the low standards of living of the aliens made it impossible for white farmers to compete with them.[71] Approximately 100 Filipinos worked on Wapato farms, 65 per cent of the Yakima Valley Filipinos.[72] Some elements felt 100 Filipinos was an excessive number. Verran editorialized:

> There are too many Filipinos hanging around the streets of Wapato. A stranger might think this is a Filipino town. It's too bad that Congress, when it passed the bill granting independence to the Philippines, didn't make provision that the Filipinos in this country be sent home to get themselves in readiness for that independence.[73]

His editorial a week later was briefer, but more pointed:

> We understand there's a move on foot to notify the Filipinos that they are not wanted on the reservation and should move elsewhere. A majority of the white residents of the community hope the move succeeds.[74]

The move came through the four meetings of farmers which followed in March and April of 1933. Significantly, the most explosive went unreported by the Independent. The Yakima Daily Republic, which put its account on the front page, reported that "angry rumblings threatened to erupt into violence" in planned intimidation and "bodily eviction of Japanese and Filipinos." Fiery speakers almost swayed the 250 farmers to march on the small Wapato Japanese language school to search for a machine gun alleged to be stored there. Moderate speakers prevailed, but the Republic reporter learned in private conversations of plans for flooding of fields, destruction of seed, and, later in the season, dumping of produce.[75]

Verran had also heard of nefarious plans:

> We don't believe the statement that the Filipinos bought out the stock of butcher knives and ammunition from local hardware stores. If they've got 'em, they must have bought them elsewhere, like so many white men do and shouldn't.[76]

But it was gasoline and TNT, not knives and ammunition, that white men obtained. At 9:30 p.m. the night following the meeting which threatened violence, an attempt was made to burn and bomb the Yasutaro Matsushita place near Wapato where an unexploded bomb was found.[77] Arson-caused blazes destroyed six tons of hay on March 17 and seven tons on March 20 at other Japanese farms.[78] None of the incidents was reported in either the Independent or the Yakima Daily Republic. In fact, the first account of the trouble in either newspaper came to light in a public letter in the Independent submitted by the Yakima Valley Citizens League composed of American-born Japanese. The letter not only filled an information vacuum in the newspaper, but provided a civics lesson as well.

Referring indirectly to the employment of Filipino laborers and directly to the racial meetings and racial prejudice which had been aroused "among many who do not seem to understand rights of all citizens of the United States," the Japanese cited the property damage which had been sustained:

> ....This is a dangerous practice and un-American [,] and destruction of property is waste to the community and is against the laws of the nation and the state. There seems to be some misunderstanding on the part of some people most of whom are now in the ranks of the unemployed....It is claimed foreign labor is being employed on many ranches in this and other communities....There is nothing in the constitution of the United States, or in the laws of this state, which forbids anyone from employing foreign labor. If there is no such law, then we are not violating any law, and do not feel it fair for any group of men to take the matter into their own hands and destroy our property to enforce their whims or desires...

> Most all know that foreign labor was brought into this country by American citizens, and through then existing laws the children of these parents became citizens of this country. It would be safe to say that many of the very men who are now trying to incite racial prejudice became citizens in like manner, and many are not yet citizens of this country. It is true some of us employ foreign labor, but in most cases this foreign labor is our own parents, and why should we discriminate agains them when it was through them we became citizens of this nation?....
>
> We have the same rights as other citizens to lease lands on the Yakima Indian reservation, and in fact, any other place in the United States....America is the melting pot of all nations and all our forefathers, yours and ours, originally came across the oceans. Then we should all have the same equal rights....
>
> We wish to ask you fair-minded Americans to be patient, fair and just and study the constitution of the United States and forget we are Japanese and remember that we are all American citizens, and are all under the same American flag that grants each and every one of us equal rights, protection and privileges, regardless of our former nationality.
>
> Yakima Valley Citizens League[79]

The plea was ignored by the bombers. A truck was destroyed by a bomb at the Mitaro Misto place, another incident ignored by the Independent.[80] The fifth incident finally received journalistic attention when a garage and truck were destroyed in a bombing at the Sanzo Ito farm less than a mile south of Wapato, where the blast was felt and flash seen. The Yakima afternoon daily newspaper played the story in an eight-column front-page banner headline, perhaps because the incident had been reported to the sheriff in Yakima that morning.[81]

Following detonation of the sixth bomb on April 16, 1933, breaking windows on the Jinmatsu Nishida farm, Japanese Consul K. Uchima of Seattle arrived in Yakima, accompanied by Washington Governor Clarence D.

Martin, who asked for a report when he completed a speaking tour. Uchima understood some white people disliked Japanese and Filipinos and objected to the Japanese hiring Filipino laborers, but he said the Japanese had not employed Filipinos.[82]

The case was broken four days after the last bombing when three young reservation residents admitted participation in the arson and bombings.[83] When all right of the "gang" were charged, W. W. Robertson, publisher of the Yakima Daily Republic, editorialized:

> ...The hotheads who have been stirring up trouble without regard to the rights of anybody are finding themselves facing prison sentences. They probably took it for granted that public sentiment was with them in their efforts to scare Japanese farmers out of that section, but the people of Yakima Valley as a whole do not favor such tactics....people cannot go around over this county blowing up homes, garages, or haystacks, without having to account to the law enforcement officials. The reservation will be a better place in which to live as a result of the campaign against violence.[84]

Verran's editorial reaction to the incidents which had reportedly "aroused the state" was briefer. His total comment consisted of these lines:

> Certainly there's been no dearth of material for conversation recently. Last week it was the bombings and this week the school situation and departure from the gold standard are featured.[85]

D. Evidence of Integration and Japanese Interaction

Irrespective of the alien land law and bombing controversies, the Japanese of Wapato throughout the two decades prior to Pearl Harbor were personally visible in the Independent in objective coverage. This bifurcation led to innumerable references not coded here in which personals reported when Japanese bought new automobiles, took trips, gave

birth, and returned from college vacations (but not when they went to each other's homes for birthdays or celebrations, as was reported for white residents).

News stories reported when Japanese opened businesses, marketed their produce, were married, died, were included on school class lists and honor rolls, or were victims or perpetrators of crimes and theft. In obituaries and stories of accidents or business, headlines usually identified the residents as Japanese, the way Indians and Filipinos were also identified. (Until 1925, the word "Jap" was frequently employed in stories and headlines; the abbreviation was then dropped until after Pearl Harbor, with the exception of one 1927 headline.)

Only once were Japanese depicted in comic fashion. When a group of Japanese overturned a truck returning from a 1922 Fourth of July celebration, Verran's news story said,

Too Much Celebration

> Reservation Japanese made the Fourth of July the occasion for a jubilation on the banks of the river near Wapato. Some of them had a better time than others, one large group feeling so hilarious that they overturned the truck upon which they were returning to Wapato...[86]

At least the account referred to a non-injury accident.

Verran may have urged removal of the Japanese in 1924, but he never subjected them to the editorial page verbal abuse reserved for the Filipinos in the 1930s:

> We can comprehend that a wedding of a prominent Filipino might be an event of great importance among the Filipinos. But that it should interest any considerable number of white people, especially young girls, is something to ponder over. The wedding celebration on Friday, which apparently made Wapato a mecca for all the Filipinos of the valley, caused

> much comment and speculation. The spectacle of white girls walking arm in arm with Filipinos was enough to cause anyone to wonder and wonder plenty.[87]

Thus, removal of the Filipino population was called for:

> ....It may be that federal law requires that direct relief be given the Filipinos if they prove themselves worthy. But even if that be so we're certain that the majority of residents of this community would prefer that relief be extended to them in Seattle or some other place than Wapato. If local welfare workers refuse to accommodate them here, in the knowledge that the community backs their decision, the Filipinos might move on to another location. If that were accomplished, the relief set-up would be lauded as a blessing to the community.[88]

A major difference between the Japanese and Filipino populations, of course, was the non-threatening family oriented culture of the Japanese; most of the Filipino population consisted of single males. Furthermore, as Table 1 indicates, by the time the Filipino population started to grow, the Japanese social organizations not only had become well developed, but they intereacted frequently with white groups in Wapato. For example, not only did the Yakima Valley Japanese Association celebrate its 30th anniversary in 1936, drawing 1,500 Northwest Japanese to Wapato, but the organization donated books on Japan to the Wapato library.[89] Japanese Methodist and Buddhist conferences drew Japanese from throughout the Northwest as well, but the Methodists also exchanged speakers with the Wapato Presbyterian Church, and individual Japanese presented cultural programs in Wapato clubs and schools. By 1935 and 1938, the Methodists and Buddhists respectively were in a position to finance construction of new church structures.[90]

Certainly two reports of alien land law leasing violations in 1936 could not overshadow the pride Wapato felt in the 1930s when the Nippons baseball team won the pennant in the otherwise white Mount Adams League,

a feat which had eluded Wapato teams since formation of the league years earlier.[91] The players may have been called boys in the front-page account in the Independent, but it was not a racial slur; athletes on all Wapato teams were so identified.

The Wapato white community in 1929 undoubtedly saw no incongruity of high school athletic star "Chops" Umemoto earning a spot on the all-time Wapato football team compiled by Independent Speed Yearout while being described by coaches in the story as that "little Jap" who opposing teams had to watch for.[92] While the term may have been of dubious endearment, it assumed a different connotation after December 7, 1941.

E. Post-Pearl Harbor Stories

Secret Service agents moved into the Wapato Hotel the first week of December, 1941. They worked daily at the Washingto-Oregon Telephone Company office on Wapato Avenue to identify and tap the telephone lines at Japanese homes. Within minutes after news of the attack on Pearl Harbor reached the community, the agents were in the telephone office, blocking all outgoing calls.[93] By nightfall, FBI agents had arrested five Wapato Issei.[94] The next morning, bank accounts of Issei were frozen at the Wapato branch of the National Bank of Commerce.[95]

White and Japanese leaders hastened to recognize the loyalty of the Wapato Japanese. Wapato Mayor George H. Hodgson expressed his faith in the Yakima Valley Japanese. He said they had made their livelihood there, had reared their families as Americans and "feel ths U.S. flag is theirs rather than the flag of the rising sun."[96]

The Rev. T. Matsumo, pastor of the Wapato Buddhist Church, professed the loyalty of his congregation, and then promptly removed the swastika emblem on the front of the church. It meant light, life, love and

liberty, but no confusion with the German swastika was risked.[97] Wapato Police Chief Vard Nichols reported no complaints of ill feelings toward the Japanese immediately after the Pearl Harbor attack.[98] The young people's association of the Japanese Methodist Church volunteered for the Red Cross sewing unit, the first aid course, and civilian defense work, recognizing that others would soon be drafted into the army.[99] Obviously, all the activities of the Japanese reflected community cooperation, not risking activities within Japanese groups. (See Table II).

Of course, the state chaplain of the American Legion, a Yakima Valley minister, urged that all aliens should be placed in concentration camps in Kansas, but the Independent did not join the parade of citizens commenting on the status of local Japanese.[100] Verran did excerpt a paragraph from a letter submitted by a Wapato Japanese businessman, which ran in the form of an editorial, but it is not clear whether the observation was viewed favorably:

> ....We shall do all we can to prove our loyalty to America by word and deed. Regardless of our views, however our physical characteristics betray our racial origin, and the situation can be extremely difficult for us unless accepted by an understanding and open-minded public.[101]

Not until Wapato farmers asked the government to clarify the status of Japanese farmlands in the 1942 growing season did Verran speak out.[102] After a spokesman said, "We want to know what is to be done about the Japs," Verran editorialized,

> ...Sentiment is growing for the removal of enemy aliens from the district, particularly Japanese aliens, in spite of the fact that these aliens figure rather prominently in the production of vegetable crops. If they are to be removed, action should be taken immediately so that necessary adjustments can be made in the farming program before the season progresses too far....

> If Japanese aliens are allowed to remain here and raise crops, they should be under strict supervision of the government. This probably would mean supervision, too, of Japanese-Americans....In justice to them and in the interest of crop production for this area, the question of their removal should be settled immediately.[103]

Within two weeks, the army's evacuation enabling order was issued, which Verran decried as too indefinite:

> ... this community would be better served if the Japanese were ordered to leave immediately. The lands which they occupy could be taken over by other farmers and somewhere near normal production could be expected from those lands this year. The Japanese, uncertain as to their future, certainly cannot afford to go very far toward production of crops. And, if the date for their removal is delayed much longer, it will be too late for other farmers to take over.[104]

The army, however, urged Japanese farmers to continue tending their crops with full assurance they would be compensated for their investment.[105] This was a "fair deal," Verran said.[106] On May 26, the army ordered the evacuation to be completed by June 7.[107]

On the eve of the departure, the evacuees submitted a public letter to the Independent, regretting postponement of their plans "for a short time, but when we realize what it means to bear our share of the sacrifices, we are proud to do it."[108] In an accompanying letter, Kara Matsushita admitted the evacuation was not a happy experience for second generation Japanese who had come to be happy to be an integral part of the community:

> ...During these times of extreme sacrifices for the survival of those American ideals of freedom, quality and justice which are dear to each of us, if our exodus will contribute to the maintenance of those ideals, we shall feel that our part in this history-making episode has not been in vain.[109]

Verran's comments upon the evacuation he had sought came only after the Japanese population had been boarded on the trains at the Wapato railway station:

> Wapato's experience as an "army" town was short-lived, but nevertheless pleasant. The soldiers who came here to assist with the evacuation of the Japanese were well-behaved and residents of the community, not to mention some of the girls, are sorry they left...[110]

Thus, it was not the Japanese but the soldiers the community regretted losing. In the editorial, Verran recounted a fight between army units, with one side objecting to the other's treatment of the evacuees. Said one soldier,

> "The Japanese are human beings, and there were women and children on the train. The Japanese cooperated with us and we learned to like them. We couldn't stand to see them mistreated."[111]

The soldier acquaintance of a few hours had more to say in farewell than the newspaper which had chronicled the comings and goings of the Japanese for 40 years.

IV. Conclusions

Wapato in the 1920s and 1930s was not provincial. Ideas circulated freely into the community via numerous channels. Unfortunately, many of the ideas were racist in nature. Newspapers and farmer organizations chronicled anti-Japanese activities from California. The American Legion used patriotic code words to attack minorities where its posts were located. Chambers of commerce articulated what was good for businessmen and granges served the interests of farmers.

The reporting of the Wapato Independent documents the strong strain of racism throughout the period studied here. Since most of the racist sentiment was institutionalized through these groups, an account is preserved through the reporting of their activities.

The Independent failed to distance itself from, let alone criticize, the perpetrators of this racism. Thus examination of the first research question shows that the newspaper adhered to reported public opinion; the editor and other businessmen joined the blue collar agrarian racist strain by their silence when they did not overtly join it. But to say that the newspaper is thus a mirror of society is probably a cliche'. Verran had the educational background to distance himself from the intemperate elements of the community if he had been so disposed.

Reporting about the Japanese may be discerned at two levels, as anticipated in the second research question. The Japanese population as a whole was the target of threats, legislative action, and community meetings, especially at times of economic uncertainty such as during the period immediately following World War I and the Depression of the 1930s. Yet, Japanese individuals and social, religious, and athletic institutions were obviously non-threatening except in the six bombing incidents, and were criticized by neither white community groups nor the Independent. In fact, when taken together, 65 per cent of the stories examined here in the pre-Pearl Harbor period reflect activities in which the Japanese were included in the white community or were merely active within Japanese organizations. The hostile stories are thus far outnumbered by not only the coded stories, but the additional scores of

personals, sports stories, and accounts of Japanese births, marriage, obituaries, and businesses not reflected in tables I and II. Furthermore, the Japanese obviously had access to the editorial page.

Despite this record of non-hostile reporting for 20 years, there is scant evidence of favorable public opinion for the Japanese at the time of the 1942 evacuation and certainly the Independent initiated none. The predominance of objective stories of the 1920s and 1930s did not lead the editor to oppose removal of the Japanese, nor did he report organized efforts to do so, as was evidently the case elsewhere.[112]

The "extreme hatred" one Japanese resident of Wapato remembered about the Independent is not documented by the weekly reporting of individuals and organizations in the Japanese community. But if the resident was remembering the rhetoric of the American Legion and farm and business groups, which went unchallenged and unopposed by the Independent, then both the coverage and the editor could be viewed as displaying hatred, however extreme.

Likewise, 18 editorials in the 22 years prior to Pearl Harbor do not constitute a sustained vendetta, even if the 18 supported neither the Japanese nor any minority group. But the lack of editorials could be construed as animosity toward the Japanese; compared to the rhetoric of community groups, the failure of a well-reasoned counterbalance, which might have been expected from a graduate of the University of Washington journalism school, showed racial insensitivity, if not animosity.

It was ironic, indeed, that the major civics lesson of the two decades came from the Japanese themselves at the time of the 1933 bombings, not from the American Legion or this newspaper operating under

the First Amendment, but to speculate further would judge that era by today's standards. Yet W. W. Robertson of the Yakima Daily Republic did criticize the Wapato bombers in 1933.

To assess performance of the press in coverage of the Japanese, it is thus necessary to examine factors beyond such atypical events such as the bombings or Pearl Harbor. What was the "routine" coverage in the years prior to the incident? What role did the community power structure play in race relations? How qualified educationally and economically was the editor to become disassociated from the community and to step outside its value system? How did economic factors affect the community? What do editorials ignore as well as cover?

Future studies exploring these questions may show this example of two levels of racial reporting in Wapato to be far from unique. High visibility of a minority population or lack of editorial attention in a newspaper may not mean a lack of racism.

Not until half a decade following the Japanese evacuation did the Hutchins Commission set forth its five criteria for press performance, so William Verran cannot be held accountable for the two pertinent provisions -- that the press must present a representative picture of the constituent groups in society and be responsible for the presentation and clarification of the goals and values of society.[113] But these standards are not so esoteric that they could not be articulated until 1947; in fact, the Wapato Japanese community said much the same thing at the time of the bombings in 1933.

Table I

Pre-Pearl Harbor Stories, References to

Japanese in the Wapato Independent, 1920-1941

Year	Included in Community	Per Cent	Excluded or Hostile	Per Cent	Japanese-to-Japanese	Per Cent	Editorials	Per Cent
1920	2	2.38	4	5.19	0	0	3	16.6
1921	2	2.38	10	12.98	0	0	0	0
1922	9	10.7	20	25.97	2	3.5	3	16.6
1923	1	1.19	16	20.7	0	0	3	16.6
1924	0	0	1	1.2	0	0	4	22.2
1925	0	0	12	15.58	0	0	2	11.1
1926	0	0	1	1.2	0	0	0	0
1927	1	1.19	0	0	0	0	0	0
1928	1	1.19	1	1.2	0	0	0	0
1929	6	7.1	1	1.2	0	0	1	5.5
1930	1	1.19	0	0	2	3.5	1	5.5
1931	5	5.95	1	1.2	0	0	0	0
1932	2	2.38	0	0	6	10.5	0	0
1933	7	8.3	8	10.38	1	1.75	1	5.5
1934	5	5.95	0	0	4	7	0	0
1935	0	0	0	0	14	24.5	0	0
1936	6	7.1	2	2.59	7	12.28	0	0
1937	7	8.3	0	0	4	7	0	0
1938	10	11.9	0	0	9	15.78	0	0
1939	2	2.38	0	0	3	5.26	0	0
1940	5	5.95	0	0	3	5.26	0	0
1941	12	14.28	0	0	2	3.5	0	0
Pre-War Total	84	99.8	77	99.39	57	99.83	18	99.6

Of 218 stories or references printed about local and U.S. Japanese in 1,141 issues in the 1920-1941 pre-Pearl Harbor period, 84 or 38.5 per cent reflected activity in which the Japanese were included in the community at large; 77 or 35.3 per cent reflected activity that was hostile to them or in which they were excluded; and 57 stories or 26 per cent reflected activity within the Japanese community alone.

Table II

Post-Pearl Harbor Stories or References to

Japanese in the Wapato Independent, 1941-1942

Year	Included in Community	Per Cent	Excluded or Hostile	Per Cent	Japanese-to-Japanese	Per Cent	Editorials	Per Cent
1941	2	50	5	15.6	0	0	2	25
1942	2	50	27	84	0	0	6	75
Post-War Total	4	100	32	99.6	0	0	8	100

Of 36 stories or references printed about local Japanese in the post-Pearl Harbor period through August 20, 1942, following evacuation, 4 stories or 11 per cent reflected activity in which they were included in the community at large, and 32 stories or 88.9 per cent reflected activity hostile to them or in which they were excluded. No stories reflected activity within the Japanese community alone.

Citations

[1]Words by John Oxenham, "In Christ There is No East or West," The Hymnbook (Philadelphia: The United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., 1955), p. 400.

[2]The author, who was a childhood resident of Wapato, recalls this fact. He was 7 years of age at the time of Pearl Harbor.

[3]Kazuo Ito, Issei: A History of Japanese Immigrants in North America (Seattle: Japanese Community Service, 1973), p, 188.

[4]Wapato Independent, December 14, 1922, and June 4, 1942, Hereafter cited as the Independent. The Wapato Japanese were among a population of 1,000 Japanese cultivating land in several communities in 1930 on the Wapato Irrigation Project. This was the largest rural Japanese population in Eastern Washington State, according to John Adrian Rademaker, "The Ecological Position of the Japanese Farmers in the State of Washington" (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Washington, 1939), p. 282. For a discussion of the urban Eastern Washington Japanese population in Spokane, see Deborah Ann Gallacci Wilbert, "A History of the Formation of the Japanese American community in Spokane, Washington, 1890-1941" (unpublished master's thesis, Washington State University, 1982).

[5]Related studies include two undergraduate research papers in the Manuscripts, Archives, and Special Collections holdings of Washington State University: Denis F. Stamaris, "Coverage of the Japanese Internment: A Comparative Analysis of The Yakima Daily Republic and The Wenatchee Daily World," and Bill Geloneck, "The Role of The Seattle Post-Intelligencer in the Japanese Exclusion Act of 1924."

[6]An exception is Charles A. Siegel, "West Coast Press Opinion and Propaganda and the Japanese Exclusion Act of 1924 (unpublished master's thesis, Washington State University, 1949).

[7]John A. Gothberg, "Press Reaction to Japanese Land Ownership in California," Journalism Quarterly, XLVII (Winter, 1970), 667-672, 724.

[8]Ibid., 724.

[9]S. Frank Miyamoto, "The Japanese Minority in the Pacific Northwest," Pacific Northwest Quarterly, LIV (Fall, 1963), 148.

[10]Gary Y. Okihiro and Julie Sly, "The Press, Japanese Americans, and the Concentration Camps," Phylon, XLIV (Spring, 1983), 83.

[11]Ito, Issei, p. 421.

[12]Ibid., p. 423.

[13]U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930: Population, III, 1231.

[14]Bill Hosokawa, Nisei: The Quiet Americans (New York: William Morrow, 1969), p. 92.

[15]William Denison Lyman, History of the Yakima Valley, Washington, Comprising Yakima, Kittitas, and Benton Counties, Vol. I (Chicago: S. J. Clarke, 1919), p. 352, and C. Brewster Coulter, "The New Settlers on the Yakima Project, 1880-1910," Pacific Northwest Quarterly, LXI (Winter 1970), 10-21. Also see Coulter, "The Victory of National Irrigation in the Yakima Valley, 1902-1906," Pacific Northwest Quarterly, XLII (Spring, 1951), 99-122; G. Thomas Edwards, "The Early Morning of Yakima's Day of Greatness: The Yakima County Agricultural Boom of 1905-1911," Pacific Northwest Quarterly, LXXIII (Spring 1982), 78-89, and Edwards, "Irrigation in Eastern Washington, 1906-1911: The Promotional Photographs of Asahel Curtis," Pacific Northwest Quarterly, LXXII (Summer 1981), 112-119.

[16]Lyman, History of the Yakima Valley, Vol. I, p. 550.

[17]Independent, December 13, 1917, and Lyman, History of the Yakima Valley, Vol. II, p. 13. Wapato is an Indian word for a nutritious root and came to describe potatoes as well. Lyman, History of the Yakima Valley, Vol. II, p. 788, and Independent, June 15, 1939.

[18]Lyman, History of the Yakima Valley, Vol. II, pp. 559-560, and the U.S. Department of Commerce and Labor, Bureau of the Census, Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910, 584.

[19]Personal recollection of Kaoru Morinaga, reprinted in Ito, Issei, pp. 182-183.

[20]Ito, Issei, pp. 175-176. Just as Japanese laborers replaced the Chinese on many railroad projects in the Pacific Coast states, the Japanese population replaced the Chinese as targets of racial animosity. For an example of early anti-Chinese hostility in Washington State, see Myron K. Jordan, "Headlines, Torchlight and Terror: Press Competition Failed to Produce Diversity in Tacoma's Chinese Exclusion Movement in 1885," paper presented to the West Coast Journalism Historians' Conference, San Francisco, 1986. The paper describes journalistic attempts to force the Chinese out of Tacoma. A white mob attempted to force Japanese railroad workers out of Portland, Oregon, in 1898. Ito, Issei, p. 91.

[21]Ito, Issei, p. 124.

[22]Gail Nomura, "Asian American Pioneers of the Yakima Valley," pp. 6-7. Nomura's paper was presented at the convention of the American Studies Association in San Diego, 1985.

[23]Siegel, "West Coast Press Opinion," pp. 8 and 18, and Douglas Roscoe Pullen, "The Administration of Washington State Governor Louis F. Hart, 1919-25" (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Washington 1974), pp. 223 and 225. The Japanese population in the three Pacific Coast states in 1920 totaled 93,490 persons, with 71,952 in California, 17,387 in Washington, and 4,151 in Oregon. Rademaker, "The Ecological Position of the Japanese Farmers," p. 157.

[24]Rademaker, "The Ecological Position of the Japanese Farmers," p. 24.

[25]Gothberg, "Press Reaction to Japanese Land Ownership," discusses passage of the California initiative.

[26]Independent, December 9, 1920.

[27]Rademaker, "The Ecological Position of the Japanese Farmers," p. 273.

[28]J. Grant Hinkle, comp., Session Laws of the State of Washington, Seventeenth Session, 1921 (Olympia: Frank M. Lamborn, Public Printer, 1921), pp. 156-157, and Article 2, Section 33, Constitution of the State of Washington (Olympia: State Printing Office, 1941), p. 45.

[29]J. Grant Hinkle, comp., Session Laws of the State of Washington, Eighteenth Session, 1923 (Olympia: Frank M. Lamborn, Public Printer, 1923), pp. 220-221.

[30]Independent, October 20, 1921.

[31]Ibid., March 9, 1922. Secretary Fall's ruling was overturned by the Secretary of State in 1925. Pullen, "The Administration of Governor Louis F. Hart," p. 259.

[32]Independent, January 11, 1922.

[33]Ibid., September 14, 1922.

[34]Ibid., September 22, 1921. The widow of William Verran, Jr., indicates her husband was responsible for all news and opinion following this date. Personal interview, Virginia Verran, Yakima, Washington, December 29, 1986.

[35]Marcus Duffield, King Legion (New York: Jonathan Cape and Harrison Smith, 1931), p. 197, describes this policy.

[36]Independent, December 8, 1921.

[37]Ibid., February 5, 1920, December 9, 1920, and December 16, 1920. Throughout the 23 years reflected in this study, few issues of the Independent failed to carry editorial opinion. Most issues under either Verran carried four to six editorials, some no longer than a paragraph in length.

[38]Ibid., March 17, 1921.

[39]Ibid., August 24, 1922.

[40]Ibid., September 7, 1922.

[41]Ibid., July 27, 1922.

[42]Ibid., October 26, 1922.

[43]Ibid.

[44]Ibid., March 8, 1923.

[45]Ibid., March 15, 1923. A second meeting on April 18, 1923, drew about 225 persons, the Independent reported on April 19, 1923. Only two years later was there a report of Klan activity as opposed to informational meetings. Klan support was credited with defeating a Wapato school board member. Verran praised both the defeated incumbent for his record of achievement and the new director, "a good man," who had apparently gained the Klan endorsement. Independent, March 12, 1925.

[46]Eckard Vance Toy, Jr., "The Ku Klux Klan in Oregon: Its Character and Program" (unpublished master's thesis, University of Oregon, 1959), pp. 12, 34, and 38. The thesis describes the spread of the Klan westward.

[47]Independent, July 21, 1921.

[48]Ibid., November 30, 1922.

[49]Ibid., March 29, 1923.

[50]Ibid.

[51]Ibid., The story refers to Ozawa v. U.S. 260 U.S. 178 (1922). Also see Pullen, "The Administration of Governor Louis F. Hart," pp. 248-249, for a discussion of the U.S. Supreme Court decisions upholding alien land laws.

[52]Independent, November 22, 1923.

[53]Ibid.

[54]Seattle Post-Intelligencer, April 15, 1924. Hearst had purchased the Post-Intelligencer in 1922, according to Frank Luther Mott, American Journalism, A History: 1690-1960, 3rd ed. (New York: Macmillan, 1962), p. 645. Purchase of the newspaper, however, was not made public for some time. For accounts of anti-Japanese activity in California by Hearst and fellow publisher V. S. McClatchy see Gothberg, "Press Reaction to Japanese Land Ownership"; Siegel, "West Coast Press Opinion," p. 62, and Pullen, "The Administration of Governor Louis F. Hart," pp. 228-229. Pullen, pp. 230-232 also describes press sentiment toward the Japanese in Washington State prior to Hearst's arrival.

[55]Independent, April 17, 1924.

[56]Ibid., June 12, 1924, and July 17, 1924.

[57]Rademaker, "The Ecological Position of the Japanese Farmers," p. 39, quoting John I. Nishimoiri, "Japanese Farms in Washington" (unpublished master's thesis, University of Washington, 1926), pp. 16 and 23. Pullen, "The Administration of Governor Louis F. Hart," p. 251, says 78 per cent of the Japanese farmers in Washington State lost their farms between 1920 and 1924.

[58]Independent, January 8, 1925.

[59]Ibid., January 29, 1925.

[60]Ibid.

[61]Ibid., October 8, 1925.

[62]Ibid., September 19, 1929, and October 2, 1930.

[63]Ibid., January 8, 1931.

[64]Ibid., February 5, 1931.

[65]Ito, Issei, p. 186.

[66]Independent, September 24, 1931.

[67]Ibid., October 15, 1931.

[68]Ibid., January 21, 1932. Value of the crops of the Wapato Irrigation Project was approximately 12 per cent of that raised throughout the Yakima Valley. Independent, December 31, 1932.

[69]Independent, July 7, 1932.

[70]Ibid., March 3, 1932.

[71]Ibid., January 26, 1933. Those attending mass meetings asked white and Japanese farmers to cease employing Filipinos. Independent, March 2, 1933, and March 9, 1933.

[72]Yakima Daily Republic, March 29, 1933.

[73]Independent, February 9, 1933.

[74]Ibid., February 16, 1933.

[75]Yakima Daily Republic, March 16, 1933.

[76]Independent, March 16, 1933.

[77]The Yakima Daily Republic reported that the Matsushita arson fire occurred on March 16. Ito, Issei, p. 186, indicates the incident took place on March 15, 1933. The former date is accepted here because of the contemporary account.

[78]Ito, Issei, p. 186. Even in a subsequent recapitulation of the bombings, the March 20 incident was not reported by the Yakima Daily Republic.

[79]Independent, April 6, 1933.

[80]The Yakima Daily Republic reported on April 20, 1933, that this incident occurred on the evening of April 5; Ito, Issei, p. 186, lists the date as April 6. The sources also disagree on the farmer's name. Issei lists it as Mitaro Masufuji, the Yakima Daily Republic as Mitaro Masto, which is accepted here.

[81]Yakima Daily Republic, April 14, 1933.

[82]Ibid., April 18, 1933.

[83]Ibid., April 20, 1933.

[84]Ibid., April 28, 1933.

[85]Independent, April 20, 1933.

[86]Ibid., July 6, 1932.

[87]Ibid., October 11, 1934.

[88]Ibid., December 30, 1937. The Independent editorial was challenged by the Workers Alliance of Washington, which, in turn, was criticized by the Ashue Grange near Wapato. Independent, February 17, 1938, and February 24, 1938. Albert Anthony Acena, "The Washington Commonwealth Federation: Reform Politics and the Popular Front" (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Washington, 1975), pp. 192-193, describes formation of the Workers Alliance. Carlos Bulosan, America is in the Heart: A Personal History (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1946), pp. 107-113, provides an account of whites' attacks on Filipinos in the Yakima Valley.

[89]Independent, April 30, 1936, and October 22, 1936.

[90]Ibid., March 14, 1935, and December 22, 1938.

[91]Ibid., August 2, 1934. Gail Nomura, "Wapato Nippons: Japanese American Baseball in the Pacific Northwest," provides a comprehensive account of the Wapato Japanese baseball teams. The paper was presented at a conference of the Pacific Northwest American Studies Association in 1984 in Pullman, Washington.

[92]Independent, January 24, 1929. Yearout came to Wapato in 1919. He said the greatest quarterback before his time, "Oldtimers said," was William Verran, Jr., who was graduated from Wapato High School in 1915.

[93]Personal interview, Jean Norris, Yakima, Washington, December 31, 1986. Norris was an operator in the Wapato telephone office.

[94]Independent, December 11, 1941.

[95]Yakima Morning Herald, December 9, 1941.

[96]Ibid.

[97]Ibid.

[98]Ibid., December 11, 1941.

[99]Independent, December 11, 1941.

[100]The American Legion chaplain spoke to the Wapato Chamber of Commerce, as reported by the Independent, January 22, 1942.

[101]Independent, December 11, 1941.

[102]Farmers raised the question at a Wapato Chamber of Commerce meeting, as reported by the Independent, February 12, 1942.

[103]Independent, February 19, 1942.

[104]Ibid., March 5, 1942.

[105]Ibid., March 12, 1942.

[106]Ibid.

[107]Ibid., May 28, 1942.

[108]Ibid., June 4, 1942.

[109]Ibid.

[110]Ibid., June 11, 1942.

[111]Ibid.

[112]Ito, Issei, pp. 685-690, provides an account of white citizens who cooperated with the Wapato Japanese and managed their resources until they returned from the evacuation centers.

[113]Fred S. Siebert, Theodore Peterson, and Wilber Schramm, Four Theories of the Press: The Authoritarian, Libertarian, Social Responsibility, and Soviet Communist Concepts of What the Press Should Be and Do (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1956), p. 91.

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